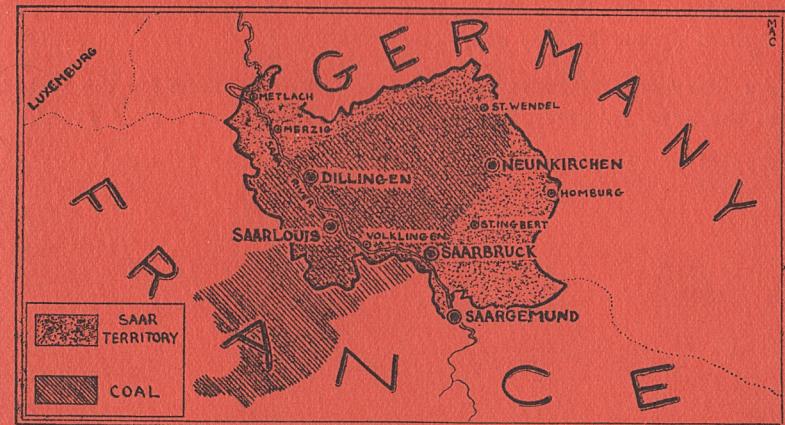


The Saar— Powder Magazine of Europe



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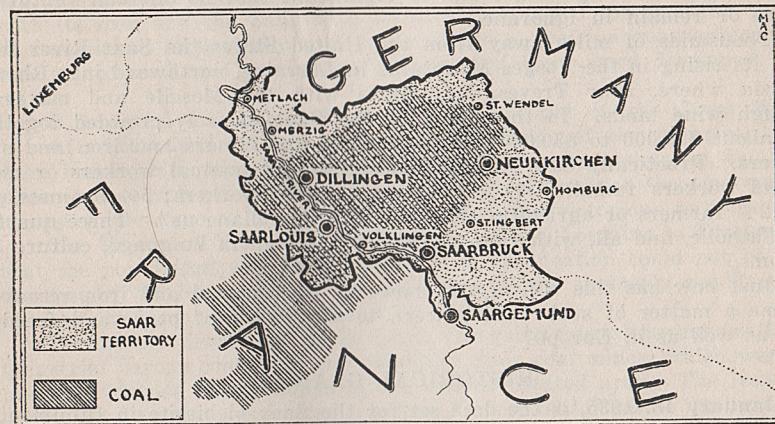
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What We Saw in the Saar!

The Report of an International Investigation Commission



The Problem of the Saar Plebiscite, January 13, 1935

Illuminated By Facts and Figures

P R E F A C E

WHY WATCH THE SAAR?

The Saar . . . A word rarely heard before now fills the daily press, the magazines of current events and the radio news dispatches.

The future of the Saar territory is to be settled on Jan. 13th—the little Saar, only a tiny slip of mining and industrial territory wedged between France and Germany, north of Lorrain and near the great iron deposits of Briey, in the very heart of industrial Western Europe.

Less than three quarters of the size of Rhode Island, with far less than a million inhabitants, this little valley of coal, iron and smoke is the scene of a violent and stirring political conflict bearing within it the seeds of outright military conflict between powerfully-armed nations of Europe. And if once again, as in 1914 from insignificant Sarajevo in Serbia, the conflagration of combat spreads like a raging fire between the governments of Europe, then once again the United States cannot fail sooner or later to be involved through the same controlling forces which directed events from 1914 to 1917.

The Saar is much more than just another maladjustment left over from the "the Great War and the small peace." Europe is festering with the infection of minority oppression, violation of self-determination, territorial maladjustments, geographical butchery of economic organisms. But the Saar situation is something unique and so significant that no one can venture to ignore or remain in ignorance.

Thousands of miles away from the United States the Saar River flows from its rising in the Vosges Mountains in Lorraine, northward into Rhenish Prussia where, near Treves, it mingles with the Moselle and moves on through wine lands. In the valley of the Saar, densely crowded together, live about 825,000 to 850,000 people—mostly coal miners and iron and steel workers. Practically 80% of all Saarlanders are manual workers or members of workers' families; 11% are "white collar" workers; 5% business people; 2% farmers or agriculturists; and 3% "miscellaneous". Three quarters are Catholic, and all, with rare exceptions, German in language, culture and customs.

Just how has this slip of soil, however rich in coal and iron resources, become a matter of such vital concern to all friends of peace and freedom, here as well as in Europe?

HISTORICAL GLANCE

January 13, 1935, is the date set for the Saar plebiscite in fulfilment of conditions laid down in the Treaty of Versailles. That document is often called a "peace" treaty, but, in reality, it has been rather a treaty for perpetuation and intensification of the rivalries which led inevitably to the first World War, 1914-1918. But today none of the snarls inherited from the Treaty is so charged with international dynamite as the Saar.

Saar voters are to choose between three alternatives:

- (1) That their territory shall become part of France;
- (2) that it shall return to Germany; or
- (3) that there shall be a continuation of the present independence under the protection of the League of Nations—maintainance of the *status quo*, as it is called in legal language.

Until a very short time ago, there was not the slightest doubt in the mind of any informed person that the Saar vote—or plebiscite—would result in an overwhelming majority for the second choice—return to Germany. Until in Germany the Nazi Fascist regime of Hitler, Goering, Goebbel and the rest

had come to power, such a result in the Saar plebiscite in 1935 was accepted as a foregone conclusion.

A brief glance at the history of the Saar will show why. The population of the Saar territory is overwhelmingly German. In 1919, according to Knauer's *World Atlas*, ninety-nine percent of all residents spoke German as mother tongue.

The Saar was a bone of contention away back in the 16th century when Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France fought over it.

Important parts of the Saar territory were acquired by the kingdom of Prussia when Europe was redived by the Congress of Vienna following the defeat of Napoleon in 1815. The chief town, Saarbruecken with some 125,000 residents, and also the town of Saarlouis founded by Louis XIV, then passed to Prussia. Another part of what is now the Saar belonged to the Kingdom of Bavaria. In Saarbruecken on August 2, 1870, occurred the first engagement of the Franco-Prussian War. In the presence of that early Fascist dictator, Emperor Napoleon III of France, a French army corps, moving from Metz less than 50 miles away, occupied the city which had been defended by a small force of Prussian soldiers.

THE SAAR IS STILL STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT

Since the end of the Franco-Prussian war, the Saar basin has been economically and industrially tied with the province of Lorraine. Exploitation of the natural resources of potash in Alsace, iron ore in Lorraine and the rich coal mines of the Saar brought enormous wealth to dominant German capitalists in the decade which followed the Franco-Prussian war. Lorraine with its iron and the Saar with its coal just suited for smelting that iron, became linked industrially and economically as well as geographically. Extraction of coal and production of iron and steel were developed to high points.

Commercial and imperialistic rivalries brought on the Great War . . .

After the financial and military participation of the American Government had enabled the allied powers to crush German resistance, the fates of these economic treasures—the Saar and Alsace-Lorraine—became matters of utmost importance to the financial rulers of the victorious nations.

The Treaty of Versailles awarded Alsace and Lorraine to France, saying that the population was French. But that falsification could not be used in the case of the Saar whose population was all too obviously not French, but German, in language, culture and loyalties.

So another device had to be found for getting into the hands of French industrial barons control of the abundant Saar coal mines, which were to replace the output of the mines in the war-devastated area. The iron ore reserves of Lorraine, estimated at four billion tons, had to be matched by the Saar coal reserves, estimated at more than nine billion tons. French coal needs were answered with Saar coal, while the wrecked mines in northern France were drained and repaired.

The device whereby the Saar was brought into the French sphere of economic control was typical of the fictions and frauds in the Treaty of Versailles, the true fruit of the war to end war and to make the world safe for democracy.

By Article 49 of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany ceded to the League of Nations for fifteen years the government of the Saar territory, at the end of which time the inhabitants were to be called on to indicate the sovereignty under which they wished to live. The plebiscite set for January 13, 1935, is to be the indicator. That is why it is so desperately important to Hitler's helpers and to the fighters against Fascism.

As a compensation for the wartime crippling of coal mines in northern France, and as a payment on account of reparations for war damages, the German government by signing the treaty, ceded to France the entire and

absolute proprietorship of the Saar coal mines, free of all debts and charges. And with this complete proprietorship naturally went the complete and exclusive right to exploit those mines. The priority rights of France in the Saar cover all coal seams and mining concessions in the region regardless of previous proprietorship.

The value of the Saar mines now in French possession is about 1,800,000 French francs. About the same amount of money has been invested in the Saar by the French.

In return for this cession of rights to France, the sum of 300,000,000 gold marks (\$72,000,000 at par) was set to Germany's credit in the reparations bill, to remain there only so long as the mines and the right to use them remained with the French government.

The vote at the end of the 15 years was to be open to all persons who had been regular residents of the Saar on the date of the signing of the Treaty, June 28, 1919.

It is of utmost importance to a clear understanding of the possibilities which now exist in the Saar, to know that the regulations governing the disposal of the Saar by the League of Nations, *do not require* the League to order the alternative which received the greatest number of votes in the plebiscite. On the contrary, the instructions are explicit that after the plebiscite a regulation is to be effected which shall correspond "to the interests of the Saar population." This affords every opportunity for a decision which will correct the results of a plebiscite which may be forced by stuffed ballots, fraud and strong arm methods.

Finally, it was provided in case the Saar vote should result in a return of the territory to Germany, the mines must be bought back from France by Germany with payment *in gold*. The price to be paid must be set by an international commission.

FASCISM IN GERMANY MOBILIZES OPPOSITION IN THE SAAR

Two years ago, or even a year and a half ago, a man would have been called mad for suggesting that in this autumn and winter of 1934, hundreds of thousands of Saarlanders of different religions and occupations would be fighting at the risk of their livelihood and even their lives to prevent a return to Germany.

But that is just what is going on today—and the cause is Hitler's fascist regime.

The Saarlanders who fight against Nazi-ism are still Germans through and through. But Germans who want to return only to a real Germany,

Rapidly increasing numbers of Saarlanders, in particular the intelligent working men and women, the politically-enlightened jobless, and even a great many who belong, or feel themselves to belong to the "middle class"—have decided not to cast such a ballot, if they can avoid doing so.

Had the plebiscite been held a year and a half or a year ago, the vote against return to Hitler Germany might have been negligible. If the plebiscite were postponed until a half year or year from now, there is little reason to doubt that the greatest number of all bona-fide votes would be cast in favor of retaining independence under League of Nations.

So rapidly is the change taking place.

In a recent article ("Knox of the Saar" in the *Saturday Evening Post* for November 19) Dorothy Thompson confirms the contention of friends of a non-Nazi Saar, that the recent great rise of Saar sentiment in favor of keeping the *status quo*, is the answer of Saar men and women to Hitler and all he stands for, "Everyone familiar with the Saar knows that up to 18 months ago, 95% of the population would have voted for Germany. Every vote that increases that 5% minority is a vote against Hitler . . . and . . . Hitler knows it. If 25% of the inhabitants of the Saar vote against reunion with Germany, then 20% of patriotic Germans have repudiated the dictator."

During the past year, and especially since the late spring of this year, many of those who were at first favorably disposed and even enthusiastic in regard to the Nazi regime in the "Fatherland", have been forced to realize that terror and racial repression, official savagery and international degredation, utter censorship and universal espionage are the inevitable accompaniments of the spread of Nazi-ism in particular, as of militant Fascism in general.

THE SAAR—LAST STRONGHOLD OF GERMAN LIBERTIES

Let us see just what a Hitlerization of the Saar would inevitably mean, in terms of daily living and laboring, to the manual workers and white collar employees and their families—in other words, to 9 Saarlanders out of 10.

When Hitler and the Nazis were called to power over Germany to protect the interests of Biggest Business and the large land-owners early in 1933, a brief wave of great enthusiasm and expectancy, fed by all the pressure of skilful propaganda, swept over Germany. It made itself felt in the Saar too and, if anything, intensified the desire for formal as well as cultural union with "the Fatherland".

But not very many months later the true face of German fascism began to become apparent to the mass of small peasants, agricultural and industrial workers and the middle class.

It is not necessary to trace here the rapid growth of dissatisfaction and opposition in Nazi Germany. Hitlerite history of the past year is essentially the record of the increasingly desperate attempt by the government to bribe, pacify or stamp out by bloodshed and terror, this growing opposition—and to rush armaments so that an enormous military machine might be completed, ready to be used before open resistance and civil war flared inside the Reich.

Increasingly bold and defiant stands have been taken by Catholic and Protestant groups in their resistance to Nazi dictation of all that is done—and spoken—inside their churches. This so-called religious struggle in reality incorporates the acute resentment of the deceived middle classes, who are the church goers, and once the bulk of Hitler's mass following.

Saar opposition to return to fascist-ruled Germany was tremendously stimulated by the bloody massacres of June 30th, and by the subsequent weak attempts by Hitler and his surviving lieutenants, to explain away the slaughter in cold blood of hundreds of former associates and helpers.

The political significance of the event was clear. No longer was it possible to maintain that the Nazi regime ruled by will of the German people. The social—and even socialistic—promises used by "National-Socialist-German-Workers-Party" to win votes coming to power, were proved worthless.

The shots fired on June 29th and 30th rang the death knell of Hitler's mass basis of support. The ugly face of Fascism was exposed; the mask of the demagogue and friends of the common people hung in tatters. Since then, the Nazi regime has ruled supported by fear, terror, and troops of trained and well-paid gangster types—the black-uniformed S.S., the dreaded Gestapo (Secret Political Police), and certain loyal sections of the Storm Troops themselves.

The alliance was sealed and solemnized between Hitler, the Reichswehr Generals, and the most reactionary cliques in the state.

But no real stability was gained for the regime. Internal dissension, intrigue, the scarcely-hidden rivalries of cliques and groups on the one hand—and on the other, growing hunger, and growing discontent. Despite the most desperate hazards, illegal organizing goes on, gains ground, wins new converts. And the London Stock Market is shaken by rumors of open uprisings in Berlin and Hamburg.

As the situation grows more acute, aggravated by the shortage of food and raw materials, with a bitter winter on the way—it becomes increasingly necessary for Hitler to have some kind of success in the foreign field to distract from the dismal prospects and distress at home.

So far the Nazi record of foreign diplomacy has been one of consistent bungling: Poland, the "Corridors," Austria, France, trade relationships in general—all these questions have been handled with a notable lack of tact, and the clumsy use of espionage and terrorist tactics. The plot which resulted in the assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss, did not gain Austria for Germany, nor did the fawnings of Hitler in Italy, Dr. Rosenberg in London, Dr. Goebbels in Warsaw, and General Goering in the Balkans produce the hoped-for international alliances.

Hitler desperately needs the acquisition of the Saar to restore some of the lacking prestige. Much more is at stake than the little slip of territory, the few hundred thousand workers, and the coal mines. If the Saar is withheld from Hitler Germany throughout the coming winter and spring, the weakness of the fascist regime is all the more evident, and the likelihood of the collapse which can be the prelude to the liberation of the German people, becomes the greater.

This can be made clear easily in terms of bread and butter. In the first place, even Hitler's supporters admit that Germany cannot supply sufficient market for the Saar coal. Second, financial and economic policy under Hitler has been molded to one dominant end—to prepare for war. Imports of metals and raw materials intended for armaments have been rushed into the Reich, under the protection of a foreign trade policy which was pretended—but very badly pretended—to enable Germans to pay their foreign debts. The debts are not being paid and still the imports of war materials have gone on.

The attempt to force some sort of national self sufficiency in production of foods, has been a part of this one mad race of the Nazis to be ready to strike by air and by land.

The consequences for the masses in Germany are that they are forced to pay impossibly high prices for necessities—or go hungry.

These same high prices—from 20% to 60% above those in the Saar today—would be one of the first results of incorporating the Saar with Adolf Hitler's Germany.

SAVE THE SAAR!

The real awakening in the Saar began with the terrible events of June 30th, which exposed the essential weakness and viciousness of the Nazi rule, which exposed the essential weakness and viciousness of the Nazi rule. Hitler's subsequent hysterical and self-contradictory attempts to justify or explain, helped to confirm the worst suspicions raised by the wholesale slaughter of his own intimate aides and suspected political adversaries.

Since that time the slogan "No Return To Germany While The Nazis Rule!" has become increasingly a rallying call for a growing multitude of Saar workers. Most important and most heartening to all friends of real freedom is the formation of a genuine *united front* between communists and social democrats of the Saar. Side by side with them are working many members of Catholic labor organizations. Many priests have braved the censure and the intimidation of their superiors in Hitler Germany and are working to keep a free and peaceful Saar.

Had such a United Front existed in Germany in 1932, Hitler would never have become dictator in Germany.

Help is needed—help for the United Front—the *Freiheits Front* in the Saar—so that the brown flood may not overwhelm the little but immeasurably important land.

Because of remarkable past events, the tiny Saar has been saved from the fate of the rest of Germany. It has become a sanctuary to thousands of political and religious refugees out of the "Third Reich". It has become the

last remaining repository of the culture and the ordered liberties which the productive classes of Germany have seen violently snatched away from them. Saar workers have shown and are showing every day that they will not give up the last safeguards and decencies of life and work without fighting to the final ditch.

That fight is going on now, and will go on until, during, and after the plebiscite itself—for the plebiscite will constitute only an important episode in the Saar struggle. The terror, gangster methods, and criminal coercion against which the united front forces of the Saar have had to fight, are sufficiently suggested in the two reports which follow—the one by the so-called "International Commission for investigating Nazi terror in the Saar," and the other submitted by the leaders of the chief groups which have joined to make the valiant United Front fighting against Fascism in the Saar.

During the days in which these reports were being translated, came the revelation of the Franco-German agreement framed in Rome during the first days of December. First headline impressions that the agreement guaranteed safety in the Saar and peace in Europe, prove desperately wrong once the text and implications of the agreement are examined.

In the fewest possible words: the agreement actually represents a promise Saar inhabitants who have been fighting to keep their little land from falling victim to that very terror and fury.

The agreement represents a definite step of support for Hitler's ambitions—a concession for the benefit of the Nazi regime, granted by the French Government on behalf of powerful industrial and armament interests to whom the great and growing united front movement in the Saar and in France seems a greater danger than even the political and strategic strengthening which unchecked possession of the Saar will bring to the Nazi regime. The financial and industrial rulers of France—"the hereditary enemy" of all things German according to Hitler's holy write, *Mein Kampf*—prove to be the very ones to secure the concessions and advantages which the bungling diplomacy and the tottering economic policy of the Nazi Government alone could never have begged or bullied.

What is the inner significance of the Franco-German dicker, signed and sealed in Mussolini's fascist Italy . . .?

It means that the united front forces in the Saar, and their supporters all over the world, will have to fight and agitate harder than ever. The Saar must not be 'sold down the river' in a diplomatic deal to strengthen the fascist regime in Germany and fascist movements all over the world. A saying for a long time: that imperialistic France cannot be depended upon either as a nation, or as a member of the League, to assure the safety of life and property of all Saar residents, which the Treaty of Versailles makes a mandatory duty of the League, its agencies, and representatives.

One glance at the text of the agreement reveals its gaping, glaring loopholes—through which will march the dreaded Nazi troops and police bent on vengeance, bent on crushing all open organization and opposition in the Saar in Germany.

In the first place, Hitler's Government "agrees" that if the Saar is turned over to its tender mercies, there will be no discriminations in respect to the language, race, or religion of inhabitants of the Saar territory—not until one year has elapsed. This means that literally only twelve months grace is granted to anti-nazis, Catholic, Jews, and all others in the Saar. During this time they can try to sell whatever they own, and get out of their Saar homeland—or take the consequences.

That is the literal meaning, but actually there is absolutely no guarantee that the Nazis, once in power in the Saar, will wait twelve weeks, twelve days, or even twelve hours before they turn loose their terror, seize trade unions,

torment Jews, mistreat oppositional Catholics—and carry out all the rest of the campaign of suppression and terror which they have learned to use in their tyrannizing over Germany.

Even the ridiculous and impotent 'guarantee' of one year does not apply to the great numbers of German political exiles who are in the Saar as a refuge from death or worse at the hands of Hitler fascism. Article IV of the Franco-German agreement says that the pledges of the agreement shall apply only to persons who have been "domiciled in the Saar territory for at least three years on January 13, 1935." Those who have been forced to flee to the Saar since the Hitler terror began two years ago, will be without any consideration or protection.

A more callous or cynical violation of elementary rights of asylum and safety would be difficult to find in official, international documents.

The satisfaction and appreciation with which Nazi leaders greeted this delivery of defenseless enemies into their hands, may be judged from a speech delivered by Rudolph Hess, Hitler's deputy and right hand man, at Bochum, on December 8 (New York Times story, December 9). Hess said: "France has changed her attitude toward Germany (that is, toward Hitler) and this has naturally brought with it a fortunate change in Germany's attitude toward France. Today we are convinced that agreement with France is possible."

The only real agreement with an imperialistic and capitalistic French Government which could be conceivable to the imperialistic and Fascist German Government, would be an agreement made in opposition to, and at the expense of, the workers, their standards of living, and their organizations, in France and Germany.

Just such an agreement is the Franco-German declaration of December 3.

To consider it a step forward toward peace or protection in the Saar and the adjoining territories, is to fall into the very delusion which the Nazi propagandists and press agents are industriously trying to spread throughout the world.

However, the contents of this pamphlet, and a thousand daily evidences from the Saar, show that there are alive and daring fighters in the Saar who will not weakly assume that their territory must be handed over to Hitler as a matter of course.

They will show with demonstrations, with votes in the plebiscite, and if need be, with outright desperate resistance, that the organized workers, the farmers, and all the various friends of economic and civil freedom, have not been blind to the catastrophe which has been visited on the likes of them in Fascist Germany, Italy, Austria, and in every fascist prison house in the world.

The fight to save the Saar from Hitlerism, is today and for some time to come the hottest sector of the worldwide war between the destructive and brutalizing forces of fascism on the one hand, and on the other, constructive gathering forces against fascism.

In this war all of us are more deeply involved from day to day, whether we will or not. Even inactivity and ignorance are blows struck in this war—for the wrong side. The no man's land of neutrality or indifference between the two sides grows continually narrower. The fronts come ever closer.

Both because of its particular local and national significance, and because of its enormous, almost boundless international implications, the struggle for the Saar is such as to focus the attentions of all who are in any way interested in the world and the desperate headlong age in which they live.

The anti-fascist forces fighting to retain a liberal and feasible status quo in the Saar can afford to rely on facts to win them support; having the facts they can afford to leave to their fascist opponents the murky and mystical

arguments in which darkly move such words as "blood", "soil", "Fatherland", etc.

The Saar is *de facto* as well as *de jure* an international problem in the fullest sense of the word. The map of Europe, as well as the dispatches in the daily newspapers prove that.

Help against Hitler in this struggle for the Saar must come from all over the world. Not enough has come from America. It is not yet too late.

This document is more than timely record; it is also an appeal to mobilize new forces for a great fight, which can never be finished until it is finally won.

Everyone can help in some way, and the sooner it comes, the more effective is that help.

WHAT DOES THE FRANCO-GERMAN AGREEMENT MEAN TO THE SAAR?

A statement on behalf of the National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism.

The world has witnessed a significant and great effort during the last few months. It is the struggle of tens of thousands of workers, farmers, and intellectuals in the Saar territory who joined their forces irrespective of political affiliation, race or creed, to oppose the expansion of German fascism to include the Saar territory, to prevent by all means the establishment of concentration camps, and a rule of intimidation and organized murder in their homeland. This United Front which has fought for the maintenance of the present administration of the League of Nations, (status quo), has the moral and material support of millions of anti-fascists, and liberty loving people all over the world. From England, to Australia, from the United States to the Scandinavian countries, a widespread solidarity movement is assisting, materially and morally, the united front in the Saar territory in its campaign to retain the status quo.

Braving terror, blacklisting and beatings, tens of thousands of Saar citizens have joined the united front. In the mining territory a defense organization against the invasion of the Hitler hordes, the "Massenselbstschutz", came into existence in an effort to display all possible forms of resistance. Catholic farmers, Catholic trade unionists, joined the Socialist and Communist workers in order to strengthen the common resistance.

This deepening anti-fascist struggle has frightened the masters of the French mining and heavy industrial combines, which in the field of French internal politics have to fight against the same growing anti-fascist trend.

They have viewed with alarm the struggle of the Saar population and the enthusiastic solidarity of French, German and other anti-fascists around that struggle.

In order to prevent the rapid spread of anti-fascist struggles in the Saar the French heavy industrialists have therefore made their peace with their German colleagues, and the French Government accordingly came to an agreement with the Hitler Government.

A complacent partner to their agreement was the Hitlerite Government, which is today under the pressure of an unparalleled economic crisis, sharpened by the isolation of the Third Reich in all fields of foreign relations. In order to obtain new foreign credits and the cooperation of British, French, and American capitalists, the industrial lords of Germany and the German Government are preparing to rejoin the League of Nations, accepting its basis, the Versailles Treaty with all disastrous and enslaving consequences for the masses of Germany. German Fascism now desperately struggles to find a way out, and would use the return of the Saar territory as a widely heralded success to hide tremendous sacrifices made at the expense of the working population.

The situation can be stated briefly. The German workers and their allies in all strata of the population are confronted with united efforts of German

and French capitalists to subdue the increasing resistance of tens of thousands of Saar citizens, and to bring about the rule of dungeons and ferocious anti-labor oppression, as well as of racial persecution in the Saar basin.

We and all of the forces who have helped to bring the Saar resistance to its present effectiveness, must continue our solidarity and brotherly aid for the struggling population in the Saar.

This Hitler-Laval agreement embodies the interests of the German industry barons, Thyssen, Krupp, and Roechling of the Saar steel mills—and the interests of the French armament magnates, Schneider, and the other moguls of the Comite des Forges group. But the fate of the Saar and its residents must not and shall not be determined in private dickers by the diplomatic representatives of Franco-German reactionaries.

The plebiscite must be the answer of the Saarlanders to the deal at the expense of their remaining liberties and rights.

There is only one answer to this attempt to sell out the Saar and the anti-Fascist forces who are fighting to save the Saar. That answer is the one which is being given even now by the United Front in the Saar—*increased resistance*.

We must all reinforce, not relax, our support, and efforts, redouble our aid, exceed by far all past help we have given to the Saar struggle, whether in the form of funds, food, clothing, or propaganda.

We shall not surrender to 'arrangements' for a fascist future for the Saar, as worked out between Laval and Hitler, on behalf of the rulers of steel and coal, blood and dividends.

Anyone at all conversant with the bloody history of the last two years in Germany can judge what value is to be attached to the Franco-German Agreement's supposed "guarantees" for freedom of political opinion, civil liberties, labor and labor organization, and for the protection of religious and racial groups.

The guarantees amount to less than a scrap of paper. They must not be taken seriously excepting as an indication of the callous and deliberate sacrifice of human life and futures on the altar of Fascism.

Like the pending U. S. Government negotiations to supply a million or more bales of American cotton to Hitler Germany, and accept in exchange German machinery and manufactures at dumping prices, the Franco-German deal on the Saar simply shows that Hitler is being supported by wealth and power in foreign nations, in defiance of the anti-Fascist sentiments of the masses.

These deals behind the scenes, however, do destroy harmful illusions. They show that no one can rest in the fight against Fascism believing that his own or foreign governments will halt the Hitler menace.

Spread the truth about the so-called guarantees entered into by Germany and France. Point out the background of the Saar swindle which great powers are trying to perpetrate under the guise of peace at any price.

The value of any promises made by Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, is clear to all who know the truth about the burning of the Reichstag, the burning of the books, the persecution of the Jews, the cases of Thaelmann, Torgler, Frau Seger, Carl von Ossietzky, and the decapitations and murders committed by the Nazis in Germany.

We continue therefore with all determination to swing the popular opinion and the helpful solidarity of the American people towards a historic struggle for freedom until the victory of the status quo will be secured.

We call upon all anti-fascists and all sympathetic organizations to rush declarations of support to the United Front in the Saar, addressing Max Braun & Fritz Pfadt, chairmen, Freiheits Front, Saarbruecken, Saar. We urge as well speedy contributions, the broadening of the sale of Saar Freedom Certificates, so that funds to back up the battle for status quo in the Saar may be sent across quickly.

Report Made by

Lord Marley, William O. Thompson, Sen. Georg Branting, and Michael Karolyi, and Presented to the High Council of the League of Nations at Geneva.

This Commission composed of the above four men was accredited to the investigation by the World Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism, headquarters in Paris, (branches and affiliated organizations in countries all over the world), received invitations from various political and religious organizations in the Saar, including Catholic organizations, trade unions, the Socialdemocratic and Communist parties in the names of their members. In view of the fact that these two parties together received 27% of the votes at the last election for State Council of the Saar, it may be said without exaggeration that the commission's work of investigation was desired by a large proportion of the Saar population.

Members of the commission were completely aware of the particular nature of their task. Since the commission has no official character, various limitations were imposed on its work. This was all the more the case since the physical and moral terror carried on by the National Socialists in the Saar prevented many victims and witnesses of this terror from reporting to the commission, out of fear of new persecutions.

Nevertheless, 40 victims of the Nazi terror did report. These were, with few exceptions, cases which had occurred during the month of September, 1934. A still larger number of witnesses of terror cases reported to the commission. This indicates the broad extent of the terror and also that it is organized and directed from a particular source.

The commission has no doubt but that an *official investigation* which would guarantee to victims and witnesses protection against further persecution would be able to establish an immensely larger number of cases of terror, for the month of September alone.

The commission attempted insofar as possible to hear victims and witnesses from all levels of the population and all parts of the Saar territory. It took testimony of miners, priests, streetcar workers, employees, merchants, doctors and attorneys from all parts of the territory. Among those who testified were women as well as men. The youngest victim was 23 years old; the oldest, a woman of 60.

Most of those who testified belonged to no party or trade union. The minority were members of Catholic organizations, trade unions, or the Socialdemocratic or Communist parties.

The cases detailed in the report represented only a minority of the cases examined by the commission. But they are in general characteristic of the manner in which the terror was executed.

In every case are concerned men or women who either belonged to a "non-coordinated" organization, or who had supported retention of the "status quo" in the Saar, or who had refused to affiliate with the "German Front," or whose opposition to National Socialism was known.

In the majority of cases, testimony of the witnesses showed that the police who were called by the victims or by eyewitnesses, intervened either late or not at all; further, that the police either refrained from establishing the names of the attackers, or had to be impelled to do so by subsequent emphatic representations; and that in most cases the police stated that it was impossible to ascertain the identities of the attackers.

In all cases in which legal investigation did take place, the victims and eyewitnesses stated that the attackers were not placed on trial before a special summary court, as should normally have taken place; but that on the other hand the opponents of National Socialism were invariably tried by such a summary court.

Witnesses testified that several of the attackers boasted that their cases would never come to trial. Because of its lack of official character, the commission was not in a position to check these testimonies with the police and court authorities. Prominent jurists, whose reliability stands above doubt, assured the commission that these testimonies were founded on facts.

The commission feels it is superfluency to repeat for the High Council of the League (1) the attempted murder of Police Commissar since these two important cases have already existed particularly public attention.

Of the 40 cases examined, the commission details for the High Council only 8.

The commission emphasizes that each and every case investigated by it was substantiated by at least two witnesses *besides* the victim.

I. The case of the miner, Franz Becker, resident of Elwersberg, the Saar, Herrenstrasse 41A. Substantiated by witnesses. At ten p. m., the evening of September 5th, 1934, Franz Becker was attacked by 34 to 40 National Socialists who had rushed to the spot in response to a signal given by the National Socialist Georg Weiss on the policeman's whistle. Franz Becker was beaten with bull whips and steel rods until he collapsed. The result of the attack was four wounds, actually holes, in the head, injuries to an eye, to his nose, cheeks, back, and left upper arm. The physician's certificate was presented. The police, in the person of the State Trooper Zimmer, although called, came only after approximately half an hour had elapsed following the

attack. It was said that the perpetrators could not be determined.

II. The case of the municipal employee, Fritz Schneider, of Sulzbach. Substantiated by witnesses. Schneider was attacked in the night of September 16th, 1934, by a number of National Socialists, and beaten till he was senseless so that he remained lying where he fell, for a long time. Among other injuries he had appreciable head wounds. Doctor's certificate was submitted. On September 21st, the day of his testimony before the investigating commission, (which is making this report), Schneider was still under doctor's care. Schneider was a member of the Social Democratic party and known to be an anti-fascist.

III. The case of the merchant Wilhelm Hillebrand, Rentrich, of Kaiserstrasse 37. Substantiated by witnesses.

At the beginning of September, 1934, as Hillebrand was occupied with business in the vicinity of Rheinheim, and was conversing with other guests at a table in a tavern, he was attacked by a man aged between 28 and 30 years, who struck him with his fist. In the next instant about 15 National Socialists and members of the "German Front" burst in through all doors, and assaulted him (Hillebrand) with steel rods and other weapons, beating him for about ten minutes. Hillebrand received serious injuries, including a severe blow in the kidneys. He was severely wounded on the head, the shoulders, and in the eye. Doctor's certificate was submitted. Hillebrand was pronounced unable to work for six weeks.

Until 1929 Hillebrand was the Reich's Music Leader of the NSDAP (the National Socialist Party), and then left the party. He was known as an opponent of National Socialism; his attackers were known to him as National Socialists. He testified before the commission that the State Police who were called to the scene had asked him whether he were the same Hillebrand who up until two years ago had still spoken in meetings. Upon receiving an affirmative answer, the State Policeman asserted that Hillebrand need not then feel surprised if he had been beaten to death.

IV. The case of the electrician, Alois Parketter, 31 year old, of Steinwaldstrasse 9, Neunkirchen. Substantiated by witnesses. Parketter was attacked in front of his house by National Socialists at about 2 o'clock in the morning of August 15th, 1934. He was beaten with weapons. He did not gain consciousness until the next day at two o'clock. He was confined to his bed for eight days after the attack. Parketter has no party affiliations.

V. The case of the widow Hinger of Holzgehege 1, Neunkirchen, as well as the housewife Koehl of the same address in Neunkirchen, and Kaete Heindel of Bismarckstrasses 19 of Neunkirchen.

On July 11th, 1934, the women were assaulted by the Nazi supporter, Theo Jakob, who first attempted to strike Frau Koehl with his belt then struck Frau Hinger in the head with a hard object so that she fell senseless. When Frau Hinger's husband, who in the meantime had hurried up, attempted to oppose Theo Jakob, the latter drew

a revolver and with it struck Frau Hinger on the eye. Thereupon he (Jacob) escaped.

Doctor's certificate for Frau Hinger was presented. Immediately following the attack, the victims demanded proceedings against the perpetrators. However, nothing of any steps taken (by the authorities) was known to them at the time they testified.

VI. The case of the locksmith Heinrich Klauck, 26 year old, a member of the Socialdemocratic party of Germany. On the 18th of August in the company of a friend, Klauck bicycled along the Mosel River to Coblenz. While visiting a friend in a labor camp he was arrested by a riot squad. He was taken to police headquarters and subjected to a verbal examination, which was carried on for hours and hours, and though he had neither engaged in any political activity on German soil nor had on his person the slightest incriminating material, he was held captive for eight days in a dark cell. The examining official had told him, "Do you know that every one who belongs to the Socialdemocratic party in the Saar territory is a traitor?" After his release and return, Klauck learned what had happened—a National Socialist had been able to send a telephone message to the police of Coblenz, revealing Klauck's departure for that city.

VII. The case of Mrs. Luisa Hektor of Hohenzollernstrasse 114, Saarbruecken. Substantiated by witnesses. On Tuesday, the 18th of April, 1934, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, two members of the Hitler Youth organization threw two smoke bombs in front of Mrs. Hektor's house which ignited themselves and then poured heavy clouds of sulphur gases. Frau Hektor is known as an opponent to National Socialism.

VIII. The case of the miner Bernhard Krill, of Sellostrasse 72, in Jaegerfreude. Substantiated by witnesses. Krill was walking, on the forenoon of September 9th, on Bismarckstrasse. Out of the office of the restaurant of Herr Lang sounded cries for help. Three National Socialists had there attacked a newsvendor of the Communist workers' paper. The three Nazis were named Reinhold Prinz, Johann, known as Hubers Dicker, and a man by the name of Brenner. Krill wished to hurry to the help of the newsvendor but the three Nazis turned immediately upon him, and at the same time about 15 National Socialists stormed out of the Lang restaurant, surrounded Krill and beat him with sticks and straps and probably also with pieces of iron or brass knuckles sewed into leather. Krill collapsed, streaming with blood. The doctor's certificate was presented. It shows that Krill was unable to work for a number of days. The Doctor, Hugo Meier, who examined him, found five blood-covered swollen spots, the right ear was bluish red and swollen from beating, his nose was also swollen and bleeding, the back of his right hand was swollen.

Following the attack, after Krill had raised himself up from the ground and had dragged himself painfully about a hundred paces further away, the State Policeman Kilzer—or Gilzer—of Herrensohr came after him. To him Krill made his complaint. The State Police-

man advised him to go to the doctor, and stated that he would come to Krill on Monday to draw up the complaint.

But in fact he did not come until three days later.

Such cases as these, here presented, take place almost daily in all parts of the Saar Territory, as unimpeachable witnesses have testified.

Only a fraction of the cases penetrate to the attention of the public, because the mistreated victims make no complaint, out of fear of further attacks.

Of far greater extent than the physical terror against defenseless women and men, is the moral pressure to which are subjected opponents of National Socialism and the supporters of the status quo. It is difficult to give a comprehensive picture of this enormous moral pressure because it involves even the smallest details of daily life.

The commission heard witnesses who were seized by an altogether panic-stricken fear at the thought that their names might become known, and who stated that their lives would no longer be safe if it were revealed that they had testified before the commission.

Because if very comprehensible reasons, the commission is not in a position to name, in this public report, all the witnesses who testified before it. The commission is, however, at all times prepared to lay this highly confidential material before the High Council of the League of Nations.

The crudest form of intimidation is public denunciation and the hidden threats of "1935" in the form of handbills, placards, pamphlets and newspaper articles, as well as in speech.

(The following leaflet, one of many of its kind, illustrates the methods of publishing names and facts to intimidate anti-Hitlerite workers in the Saar territory. It identifies individuals who attended a status quo rally and tells how they went there.—Editor's note).

Attention!

THE TRAITORS TO THE NATION AND
PEOPLE OF CALMESWEILER

Here they are, pilloried!!!!

The Heroes of Sulzbach

Johann Horrass, the flag attacker of
Eppelborn got in at Lebach, got
out Eppelborn.

Franz Horrass, from the Bubach station.
Josef Sschuh, from the Bubach station.

Mr. and Mrs. Ruschel, from the Fuschbach
Hospital.

(Ruschell has the well-known Leaflet Storehouse!)

This leaflet is one of many. It is nothing but a concealed threat of murder. It is obvious how much courage is called for, especially

among the socially dependent parts of the population, after such public pillorying, to stand firm for convictions and to work for the "status quo"—which is, after all, one of the three alternatives in the coming plebiscite.

The commission enclosed a photograph of a leaflet issued against the Catholic newspaper, which took up the issue of the status quo.

Testimony of witnesses give a really shocking picture of the moral pressure to which are exposed the employees, representatives, and solicitors of this paper. They are attacked in leaflets as traitors. They, their relations, and their children are threatened with loss of livelihood. Thus, for example, the son of a solicitor for this newspaper in Kirkel was discharged from his position. The houses of the subscribers are defaced and scrawled upon with threatening inscriptions. The bookshops which sell this newspaper are boycotted. This boycott continues all the way down to the schoolroom. The son of the chief editor is obliged to go to school in Holland because in Saarbruecken he was persecuted and boycotted in the school.

(Incidentally many eye witnesses testified that teachers in the school obliged their pupils to sing National Socialist songs). Whoever is known as an opponent of National Socialism or a supporter of the status quo,—regardless of whether he is unaffiliated with any party or whether he is an oppositional Catholic, a Social Democrat, or a Communist—is threatened with loss of his means of livelihood, with public denunciation, with boycott which goes so far that there are merchants who refuse to sell goods to him and his family.

"Beware of 1935!" is the threat with which the supporters of the status quo are supposed to be silenced. The witnesses testified unanimously that the National Socialists repeatedly stated that after the plebiscite the "traitors to the people" would be dealt with.

COERCION OF CATHOLICS

Especial importance attaches to the attempts to influence and to gag the clergy of the Saar territory. As is well known, the Saar territory is subject to the Catholic bishoprics of Trier and Speyer. A number of Catholic priests testified before the Commission how pressure had been brought to bear to force them to work for the restoration of the Saar territory to Germany and against the status quo. A few examples follow:

(1) The Bishop of Speyer transferred from the Saar to Germany three priests of his diocese who were known as supporters of the status quo; and he threatened others with such transfer.

(2) In a special episcopal letter, the Bishop of Speyer advised the priests of his diocese to have no contact with the oppositional newspaper "Neue Saar Post," and not to subscribe to it. This advice was administered under church discipline—it was, consequently, in reality an order.

(3) The Catholic priests of the same diocese had to sign a statement that they were not being terrorized. For both bishops

"suggested" not to favor the cause of the status quo and not to speak at any meeting for the status quo. On the other hand, the priest Wilhelm and others are permitted unhindered to speak at meetings of the German Front. The priest, Doerr, who spoke in a meeting for the status quo was recalled from the Saar territory.

These few examples illustrate the inner conflicts brought about in Catholic supporters of the status quo for the Saar. There is no doubt that the advices of the church officials are nothing but political propaganda.

A particular form of pressure is the refusal on the part of municipalities and private owners to hire assembly halls to supporters of the status quo. The praiseworthy decree on the 22nd of September (1934) by the Plebiscite Commission of the League of Nations, regarding the compulsory hiring of meeting halls, was made known after this commission of investigation had finished its work so that it was impossible to make any judgement regarding the success attained by this measure. Nevertheless there is no doubt that only an uncompromising application of this decree can bring to the supporters of the status quo a certain equalization of opportunity, although they can never by this means attain the preferred situation of the German Front. Doubtless there will be attempts enough on the part of the German Front to exploit against the supporters of the status quo any loopholes there may be in this decree. That there are possibilities in spite of this decree issued by the plebiscite commission, to render impossible such meetings by the proponents of the status quo, is shown by the course of the general meeting of the Union of Christian Metal Worker which took place on the 30th of September in Saarbruecken.

Testimony of witnesses before the commission indicated that the conviction is existant in wide circles of the population that the plebiscite will not be secret. This conviction, as the commission was able to determine, was strengthened even further by the events in the election of works representatives of the street car workers which took place on September 21st, 1934 in Saarbruecken. The commission heard two street car workers who had taken part in the election. Eyewitness testimony was to the effect that the election, contrary to the regulations, had not been held secret; that no voting booth or equivalent had been arranged where ballots could be cast in secret. The supporters of the so-called "free lists"—that is to say, the opponents of the National Socialists—had prior to the election rented a hall for a meeting. As they arrived for the meeting the place was already occupied by 15 to 20 members of the German Front. The proprietor announced that he could not give them the rented tavern because he had forgotten that earlier still he had rented it to the German Front.

Many street car workers who in the beginning had declared themselves ready to run as candidates on the "free lists" were forced by means of threats of discharge, to withdraw their candidacy. The commission was able to establish that the events of this election had made

a deep impression on the population which saw in them additional proof for the conviction that the plebiscite itself would not be free, independent, and secret.

Many witnesses called to the attention of the commission great improprieties which they said had taken place in preparing the lists of voters (qualified to cast ballots in the plebiscite). The witnesses agreed in registering complaints regarding the composition of the communal committees provided for in the election regulations for the plebiscite, July 7th, 1934, Article 11, these committees are supposed to prepare the lists of persons entitled to vote.

In a total of 83 communal districts, for example, only one single member of the Communist Party is listed, although the Communists in the last election received 18 percent of the votes cast; and only seven Social Democrats are listed although the Social Democrats received nine percent of the votes cast at the previously mentioned election.

As a matter of fact, the first basis for the plebiscite is created by the compilation of lists of those entitled to vote, by the communal committee. If in these communal committees the supporters of the status quo are not represented on a basis of parity, then no guaranty at all is given that there will not be falsifications of the election lists, to their (the status quo proponents') disadvantage. In fact every one of the witnesses stated the conviction that innumerable individuals not really authorized to vote have been placed upon the election lists and that there are certainly many persons qualified to vote in the plebiscite who have moved their place of residence from one communal district to another and were pronounced entitled to vote in two or more districts.

Those who know the subject have pointed out that approximately 650,000 to 670,000 persons were in the Saar Territory on the decisive day (specified by the treaty), of whom 60,000 to 70,000 must be deducted from the very beginning because of the regulations governing the plebiscite. If one considers that in Germany itself of approximately 65,000,000 inhabitants, roughly 42,000,000 are qualified to vote, then applying this proportion to the Saar Territory one would find that there should be about 400,000 qualified to vote.

As a matter of fact, however, as has been announced, about 520,000 have been declared qualified to vote. This figure is regarded with the greatest distrust by opponents of National Socialism in the Saar Territory, and indeed, on the basis of the facts here stated it seems in fact too high.

The plebiscite commission has established district committees which are supposed to oversee the preparation of the voters lists by the communal committees. There is a right of appeal for those who have not been entered in the voters lists; and there is the possibility of pointing out any false entries of persons not actually entitled to vote. But under the conditions of severe moral pressure already described by us, the fear cannot be gainsaid, that the filing of such complaints and appeals will amount to only a fraction of the actual violations of the

plebiscite regulations. On the one hand the fear of revenge will prevent many people from filing such notices; on the other hand this notice must be filed in duplicate and via registered mail. Consequently expenditure of money is called for which is out of the question for many of National Socialism's opponents who are drawn largely from the poorest sections of the population.

Many witnesses complained before the commission that Article 10 of the election regulations for the plebiscite specifies that the result of the plebiscite shall be announced according to communal districts. The witnesses expressed the greatest fears that in consequence of this the result of the plebiscite could be hampered because in these small communal districts and mayoralty districts the supporters of the status quo are known and it would be possible to determine from the results of the vote just who had cast his ballot for the status quo. The witnesses were unanimous in expressing the wish that the plebiscite results should be announced for large regions.

The commission heard testimony from witnesses who gave evidence according to which the National Socialists were spreading erroneous and misleading reports and assertions regarding the significance of the concept "status quo." The National Socialist propaganda declares that to vote for the status quo means to vote for France. It declares that a vote for the status quo in the plebiscite would mean that the Saar Territory would be forever divided from Germany. The National Socialist propaganda asserts via press, radio, and leaflets, that the status quo means the continuation also of the present constitution and that the population of the Saar Territory would be excluded from a voice in determining the fate of the territory, in the event of a majority of behalf of the status quo. The witnesses declared unanimously that even today many qualified voters are not even acquainted with the concept "status quo" or do not know what the term signifies. The witnesses furthermore declared unanimously that in this matter only a statement by the League of Nations could be of value, in which the definition of the concept "status quo" should be contained, as well as an expressed confirmation that the population of the Saar in case of a majority vote for the status quo, would be permitted after a certain time in another plebiscite once more to vote on the question of return to Germany.

SUMMARY

The commission repeats in summary its findings established on the basis of unimpeachable testimony of witnesses:

(1) The conviction exists in wide circles of the Saar population that the coming plebiscite will be neither independent, nor secret, nor free.

(2) Wide circles of the population stand for the demand that, in case of a majority (vote) for the status quo, a new plebiscite be held after the expiration of a certain length of time.

(3) Numerous and organized acts of terror and violence are

carried out by supporters of National Socialism against the residents of the Saar, insofar as they (the residents) are not organized in the German Front. Opponents of National Socialism are exposed to a severe intimidation, open as well as secret. This intimidation is exercised also by church officials resident in Germany.

PROPOSALS BY THE INVESTIGATING COMMISSION TO THE LEAGUE

On the basis of these findings the undersigned members of the investigating commission take the liberty of laying before the High Council of the League of Nations, the following proposals:

(1) Dissolution of the existing communal committees which have made out the voting lists (lists of those qualified to vote in the plebiscite.) Formation of new communal committees in which the representatives of all three voting possibilities (to France, to Germany, status quo) are represented on a basis of parity.

(2) Examination (check-up) of all voting lists by neutral commissions, with a view to establishing whether persons entitled to vote have been excluded, and whether persons not entitled to vote have been included, and also whether more than one registration certificates entitling to vote has been given, in various places, to one and the same qualified voter.

(3) Cancellation of the decision that complaints regarding the voting lists must be sent in, in writing. A ruling by the Plebiscite Commission that complaints will be given strictly confidential treatment, and that the name of those making complaints will not be revealed, insofar as their complaints do not concern their own case.

(4) Announcement of the results of the election (plebiscite) according to sections and not according to communities that is, districts included within the jurisdiction of one mayor.

(5) Counting in one place the vote for the entire Saar Territory.

(6) Carrying out of the counting by neutral officials whose names will be announced on the day before the voting takes place.

(7) Destruction of the ballots, by neutral officials, after the counting has been completed.

(8) Every voter to be instructed by the director of the polling place that secrecy of the ballot is guaranteed and that his way of voting cannot become known.

(9) Repeated publications in the press of the Saar, of the measures for securing secrecy of voting, and repeated announcements thereof by neutral persons via the radio.

(10) A definition by the High Council of the League of Nations of the concept "status quo," in terms of international law.

(11) A statement by the High Council of the League of Nations regarding the question of the second plebiscite; this statement to be to the effect that in the event of a majority for the status quo (in the coming plebiscite), no objections would be raised to another plebiscite at a later time.

(12) Repeated publication of both statements (see points 10 & 11 above) by the High Council of the League in the press of the Saar. Repeated radio announcements thereof by neutral persons. Also securing of pledges from the communal districts that these statements would be posted in visible positions in the city hall.

(13) Intervention by the High Council of the League at the German Government and at the Vatican in order to bring about that the Church authorities in Germany refrain from every kind of political interference—even in an seemingly unpolitical form—in the contest for the Saar vote.

(14) All these measures can attain complete effectiveness only when an end has been made to the extraordinary intimidation and physical terror exercised by the National Socialists against those of other ways of thinking.

To the commission the following seems of first importance:

- (a) Complete guarantee and securing of the right of free assembly to all parties in the Saar. Restraint of sabotage by the Nazis of status quo meetings.
- (b) Complete possibility of (freedom of) propaganda for all parties and tendencies in the Saar territory.
- (c) Impartial administration of the police and of the sanctions of justice in the Saar territory. This proposal, which is of especial importance, can—in the opinion of the commission—be realized only if the physical terror and the intimidation carried on by the German Front is not aided by police and courts.

According to the official statements of the Saar governing commission (of the League of Nations), the police of the Saar territory is unreliable, and therefore the (investigating) commission proposes that the Saar police be strengthened by a force of auxiliary police which shall give all the guarantees that the regulations of the governing commission for protection of the vote shall be carried out, and that the defenseless population of the Saar shall be protected against persecution by the National Socialists.

Furthermore, the commission proposes that all measures be embraced to the end that justice shall be administered with strict impartiality by the courts.

FALSE AND FRAUDULENT REGISTRATIONS FOR THE PLEBISCITE IN THE SAAR TERRITORY.

On October 19th, 1934, the "Commission for the Investigation of the Nazi Terror in the Saar Territory" headed by Lord Marley has submitted to the League of Nations a report regarding the voting registrations of Saarlanders which have been forged by the "German Front."

The above mentioned commission received a memorandum, on October 16th, which adds further proof to the report of the

Marley Commission; this memorandum has been signed by the "Liberty Movement for the Saar" ("Freiheitsaktion im Saar-gebiet"), by the "Federation for Safeguarding the Saar Interests" ("Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Wahrung saarlaendischer Interessen"), and by the "Saar Economic Association" ("Saarlaendische Wirtschaftsvereinigung"). We herewith publish this memorandum:

I.

The material collected as evidence for registration and sealed by the Commissioner of the League of Nations was opened unlawfully before the arrival of the Plebiscite Commission in the Saar; belated additions were made, and part of the material was never used in drawing up the registers.

The municipal authorities in charge have employed extra workers for the compilation of the lists. These municipal authorities, however, have been entirely "coordinated" and *only registered members of the National-Socialist "German Front"* were hired for this work. They received their instructions from the "German Front." There can be no possible question about their being biased.

For the compilation of the registers, the Plebiscite Commission has created municipal boards each of one foreign chairman and two Saarlanders; the names of the latter were suggested by the "coordinated" municipal administrations. This accounts for the fact that only *eight out of eighty-four* municipal boards include members of the "Status quo" movement, while all the rest of them are made up solely of members of the National Socialist "German Front." The Plebiscite Commission has done nothing to correct this situation, in spite of our immediate protests.

These facts go to show the possibilities the "German Front" has had for falsification of the registration of voters, without checking by outsiders.

II.

Furthermore, the time granted to the Plebiscite Commission for compiling the registers was too short. The municipal boards were therefore unable to examine each registration; they had to confine themselves to occasional check-ups. In Saarbruecken a daily average of about 3,500 registrations had to be taken care of by *only three boards*. A trustworthy verification could not take place under these conditions.

III.

All these circumstances have made possible, or even favored, an extraordinary number of false and fraudulent registrations. These have been accomplished for instance, as follows:

1.) By listing between 10,000 and 15,000 people and their families who are not residents of the Saar but who commute there every day for work. Almost all of them have been admitted to registration although *not living in the Territory on the date of eligibility*.

2.) All former officers—both commissioned and non-commissioned, as well as privates of the old German army, who were statione

in the Saar, have been admitted to registration *in violation of Article Six of the Rules and Regulations for the Plebiscite*.

3.) An astonishing number of people have *registered twice*. These are mostly people who have changed their residence within the Territory since the fixed date and who have registered under both the old and new address; and women who have either married or have received a divorce since the fixed date and who have registered under both their maiden-name and their present or ex-husband's name. It is evident that these double registrations may be used easily for "floating."

Numerous persons also have registered who were residents of the Saar for a short time only after their expulsion from Alsace-Lorraine or who have arrived after the fixed date.

There is an extraordinary large number of registered persons who have been dead for some time—in certain instances for decades! It is easily possible for these votes to be cast by persons presenting the identification papers of the deceased.

Not only affidavits from the authorities but also those from *private sources* have been considered sufficient proof that the applicant was a legal resident of the Saar on the date, or proof that he had on that date been absent from the Territory only for the time being. Consequently, it has been possible for persons who are undoubtedly *not entitled to vote*, to register on the strength of such false affidavits.

IV.

As proof for the above contentions we submit the following facts, which may be considered as only a few instances among many:

In one village, in which 650 people have been registered to vote, the list comprises the names of *not less than 34 dead*. In another village, about 90 out of 1,200 registrants are dead. In still another township, 142 registrants out of 1,200 are not residents but only commuters. In the City of Saarbruecken, one single list alone contains the names of 142 former active members of the old German army.

One case has been authenticated in which a fitter has registered on the strength of an affidavit signed by Roechling Iron Works at Voelklingen—attesting that in 1919 he had been sent to the Reich by the plant in order to finish a job there. This man, however, had in reality not taken up residence in the Saar until 1920. The affidavit is therefore fraudulent. Herr Roechling himself is well known as "Leader" of the National Socialist "German Front."

It has furthermore been ascertained that in one village near the French border high Prussian officials with academic degrees who had previously been expelled from Alsace-Lorraine, have registered giving their occupation as farm-hands, dairymen, etc., in order to conceal their real status.

V.

A period of one month was allowed in which to file challenges calling for the correction of the tentative voting lists. Even under normal circumstances this space of time would have been very short.

And since it is evident that planned false entries in the lists have been made in extraordinary large numbers, this period for correction has been absolutely insufficient. Several other serious difficulties are to be added:

The lists contain neither references as to the occupation of the applicant during the year 1919, nor his or her address at the time of eligibility. Therefore a check-up can be made only with the addition of the papers and references on which the registration entry was based. But the "co-ordinated" Communal Councils in most instances refused the representatives of the "Status-quo-followers" access to that material.

A few examples follow:

(a) The mayor of St. Wendel absolutely refused access to the references and would not issue any papers which entitle to the right of challenging registrations. (b) The mayor's office in Wallerfangen declined to give information, whether a certain person was a resident of Wallerfangen on June 28, 1919, with the explanation that such information was secret and might not be disclosed by officials. (c) The Commissioner of Saarbruecken declared that it is impossible within the above-mentioned period of one month to issue the certificates (about 16,000) which are necessary for challenging registration—because he did not have sufficient persons for that purpose. (d) At Puettlingen the mayor refused Police-certificates requesting information about 18 persons.

2) Protest of the registration lists was made difficult by the following ruling: Every protest must be copied and the letter sent by registered mail to the person in question. This is an unbearable financial burden for the less poorer members of the population who compose the greater part of the Status-quo following. Furthermore official documents are requested. These—as above mentioned—are withheld—"for technical reasons."

VI.

In order to get reliable registration lists—the essential prerequisite for an honest plebiscite—we demand:

- 1) Another thorough, official check-up of the voting lists by balloting committees of *unbiased* representation.
- 2) Prolongation by at least one month of the period of time allowed for filing challenges of registration.

We appeal to the entire world to join with us in the demand for honest voting lists. They are the only means to prevent fraudulent results in the coming Saar Plebiscite, which is of importance to all of Europe!

For the "Freiheitsfront:"

(signed) Max Braun, (signed) Fritz Pfadt,
For: "Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Wahrung saarlaendischer
Interessen."

(signed) Rossenbeck,
For: "Die Saarlaendische Wirtschaftsvereinigung:"
(signed) Hector.

KEEP THE SAAR OUT OF THE HANDS OF HITLER FASCISM!

Here is a matter of duty, of loyalty, of conscience.

Let this sink deeply into your daily life. *Shall the Saar and its population of 800,000 become a terror-stricken concentration camp of Nazi Germany?*

Shall anti-fascists be beheaded in the Saar? Shall workers, professionals, writers, Jews, Christians be jailed by the thousands? Shall free speech and assemblage be outlawed in the Saar? Shall political parties, trade unions, fraternal and educational organizations be declared illegal? Shall books be burned and culture wiped out in the Saar?

This is what will happen if the Saar is returned to Nazi Germany.

On January 13th the population in the Saar will vote on this question. Thousands of Hitler's Nazi agents are now in the Saar campaigning for a Hitler victory. Our United Committee in the Saar, composed of workers, middle class people, Catholics, is also campaigning to maintain status quo, to continue the administration under the League of Nations until the Saar can be returned to a *free* Germany. Nazis in the Saar are attacking anti-fascists, threatening the inhabitants, registering as voters inmates of insane asylums, the dead, are importing voters. And despite all this, our United Committee leading the campaign in the Saar for status quo, against returning the Saar to Hitler, is steadily gaining ground.

The anti-fascists of the Saar have appealed to us to help them win. Their appeal must be answered quickly. We are asked to send funds to help them print leaflets, to help them maintain their anti-fascist press, to tour speakers, to put into the field hundreds of campaigners for our side of this battle. We are asked to ship cans of food and useable clothing so that these campaigners and their families may eat and live while they courageously face the Nazi terror gangs. And the many families, the children of the anti-fascist prisoners in the concentration camps in Germany, must also be aided. Starving, evicted, cut off from Nazi relief, they suffer and hope for our speedy assistance.

CONVINCE YOUR ORGANIZATION TO LEND A HAND!

BECOME A VOLUNTEER IN THIS WORTHY CAUSE!

Funds, canned foods, clothing—all are needed. Join us in collections from neighbors, merchants, organizations.

Send all remittances to

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO AID VICTIMS
OF GERMAN FASCISM**

168 West 23rd Street,
New York, N. Y.

Gegen den Kulturfaschismus!

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